CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.

by the forms prescribed by the Constitution and the rules of this House; secondly, as private citizens, in which characters they are bound to resist the passage of an aggressive law, in the same way that private citizens may resist aggression upon their rights. I feel quite sure that I have not mistaken the proper construction to be put upon the gentleman's language. But, as I have given the entire paragraph, let it speak for itself. What-ever doubts there may be as to the proper construction of that paragraph, there can be none, none at all, as to the one which I now quote from the speech of the gentleman from North Carolina. [Mr. CLINGMAN.] already referred to :

"But it is advised (says be) in certain portions of the "But it is advised (says be) in certain portions of the Northern press, that the members from that section ought to expel such as interrupt their proceedings. Let them try the experiment. I tell gentlemen that this is our slave-holding Territory. We do not intend to leave it. If they think they can remove us, it is a proper case for trial. In the present temper of the public mind, it is probable that a collision of the kind here might electrify the country, as did the little skirmish at Lexington the colonies in their them excited state. Such a struggle, whoever might prove the victors in it, would not leave a quorum here to do business. Gentlemen may call this treason, high treason—the highest treason that the world ever law. But their words are idle. We shall defeat their movement against us."

If this does not sufficiently show where and how

If this does not sufficiently show where and how the revolution is to commence, let us turn again to the speech of the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Brown, and read another extract :

"My own opinion is this: that we should resist the intro-duction of California as a State, and resist it successfully; resist it by our votes first, and lastly by other means. We resist it by our votes first, and lastly by other means. If ean, at least, force an adjournment without her admission. This being done, we are safe. The Southern States, in convention at Nashville, will devise means for vindicating their rights. I do not know what these means will be, but I know what they may be, and with propriety and safety. They may be to carry slaves into all of Southern California, as the property of sovereign States, and there hold them, as we have a right to do; and, if mulested, defend them, as is both our right and duty.

"We sak you to give us our rights by NON-INTHEVENTION: If you refuse, I am for taking them by ARMED OCCUPATION."

Resist the passagraph is law advantaged from the contraction.

Resist the passage of a law admitting California first by votes, and lastly by " other means!" Chairman, does the Constitution which we are sworn to support, or the rules of this House, point out to us any "other means of resisting the mactment of a law, except by means of votes an adjournment? "Force an adjournment" says the gentleman. And that force is the "other means" by which the admission of California is to be resisted, "and resisted successfully." And what next? Why, the Nashville Convention is to meet. Then what? "Carry slaves into all of Southern California, as the property of sovereign States, and there hold them, as we have a right to do; and if molested, defend them, as is both our right and daty? And thus is California to by "armed occupation." Alas for i

force, and held by armed occupation, that slavery may be introduced there against their will! I do not doubt, Mr. Chairman, that by this time you and this Committee are satisfied, as I am, that unless the intentions of the people of the slave-holding States have been mistaken by some of their Representatives here, a conflict of arms between the Government of the United States and a

portion of the citizens thereof is inevitable. But, sir, I have never permitted myself to doubt the patriotism of the American people. And I shall be slow, especially, to distrust that quality in the people of the generous South. Left to their own unprejudiced judgment and their own sound reflections, I shall have no fear. I dare hardly answer, however, for the effect which the speeches, especially that of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Baows.] may have upon the minds of a gallant people, naturally ardent and impulsive. Indeed, sir, I shudder at the thought of the effect which passages like that which I shall now quote may, I had almost said must, produce on the feel-ings of our Southern brethren. Receiving it in good faith, as we are bound to suppose they will, as a faithful statement of the cruelties and enormi-ties about to be visited upon them by the hands of their Northern brethren, it would be strange in-deed, if they failed to be wrought up to the most intense degree of excitement and exasperation:

intense degree of excitement and exasperation:

"Our country is to be made desolute. We are to be driven from our homes—the homes hallowed by all the sacred associations of family and friends. We are to be sent, like a people accursed of God, to wander through the lain thomesess, houseless, and friendless; or, what is sen thousand times worse than these, than all, remain in a country now prosperous and happy, and see ours-less, our wives and children degraded to a social recition with the black race. These, these are the frightful, terrible consequences you would entail upon as. Picture to yourselvess Hangary, resisting the powers of Austria and Russia; and if Hungary, which had never tasted liberty, could make such stout resistance, what may you not anticipate from eight millions of Southrons made desperate by your aggressions?"

Do you know. Mr. Chairman, of any ac people of the slaveholding States, that can by any possibility justify such declarations as those I have I know of none, and I am sure the gen theman from Mississippi will find it very difficult to point them out to his constituents. It is easy, indeed, to deal in general charges against the North; and when requested to specify charges, to say, as the honorable gentleman from Mississippi does, "I will not recount the story of our wrongs." But will such a course satisfy a people, patriotic, intelligent, and inquiring? Future developments will show.

And what, sir, are the causes assigned to justify the act of dissolving this Union? They are alleged aggressions by the non-slaveholding States upon the rights of the slaveholding, in respect to slavery. All the charges put forth against the non-slaveholding States have reference to that question solely; and they are all comprised and compendiously set forth in a single brief sentence which I here quote from the speech before referred to of the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. CLINGMAN] After referring at some length to the benefits and advantages of slavery, he says "In spite, however, of these great facts, which ought to strike all impartial minds, the cause of the North has been constantly aggressive on this questi; n."

Now, sir, on behalf of the North, I repel the charge. And I affirm that, for anything the North has done to justify the overthrow of this Government, any attempt to do so, is naked treason. Wha sir, the course of the free States been "constantly aggressive" upon the South on the Slavery question? Let us see. Since the adoption of the Constitution, seventeen States have been admitted into the Union. Of this number, nine are slaveholding States, and eight non-sleveholding. Now. sir, it has so happened that at every time when any of these slaveholding States have applied for admission, the North has had complete ascendency in both branches of Congress, consequently the power to exclude any or all of them. They were all admitted, slaveholding as they were, with just such Constitutions as they had chosen to adopt for themselves. Is this a part of that " aggressive

course" on the slavery question which the North has "constantly" pursued? Again: Of the territory embraced within the seventeen States thus admitted, the free States comprise 333 259 square miles; and the stave States 730,376 square-miles. Thus we see that the extent of slave territory admitted into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution is considerably more than twice as great as that of the free territory. Does this look like a disposition on the part of the free States to pursue a course of "constant aggression" towards the South on the subject

Again: The annexation of Texas was a peculiarly Southern measure. The necessity of its acquisition was distinctly placed by Mr. Cat-norn-himself the embodiment of ultra Southern principles, and the master-spirit of the then Administration—upon the wants of slavery. To the North the measure was distastent. The North never desired, for its own sake, the acquisition of Texas; nevertheless, the South carnestly desiring it, and Mr. Calhoun's great influence being brought to bear in its favor, for the reason, chiefly, just given, the North generously acquiesced in the measure, though possessed of ample power to defeat it. Texas was acquired—and, at the cost of a sanguinary and expensive war, we took into the Union, at one swoop, an amount of slave ter-ritory equal in extent to the entire original thir-teen States. All this the non-slaveholding States Northern "aggression" upon the rights of the South on the Slavery Question? Is this one of the acts of "aggression" on that subject which is to justify gentlemen of the South in dissolving the Union?

The power of Congress to abolish the slave trade and slavery at the arsenals, forts, and navy yards, and in this District, will hardly be quesneither the one nor the other has been abolished, to this day, in any of those places. Even slavedealers now drive their occupation in this District, at pleasure. Could not the North, had she chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do, have put an end to alayard the chosen so to do. She has forborne to do so. Is that forbearance any part of the "aggression" upon slavery which

ow justifies rebellion against the Union?

Now, sir, let us consider those minor charges, so pertinaciously urged against the free States, that make up the sum total of those "aggressions" which justify these gentlemen in dissolving the Union. What are these charges? Why, it is charged, first, that among the people of the free States there is a prevalent and increasing feeling sion" upon the South, or a justification for the act of overthrowing this Government. Is it required of the free States that they, in aggregate, shall keep a supervision over the views and opinions of their individual citizens, on political, moral or any other subjects? Is not this a country of freedom of opinion? And do not our Southern friends, even, recognise the principle that "error of opin-ion may be safely tolerated where reason is left

free to combat it?" But are the people of the free States peculiar in their views on this subject? Does not the "aggression" come also from another quarter, and with ten-fold force? How is the feeling in Kentucky, where, at a recent election, more than ten thousand votes (as I am informed) were cast in favor of complete emancipation? How is it in other Northern slave States. here Van Buren, even, at the last Presidential election, found warm supporters, and not a few votes? Now, gentlemen of the South, you canvotes? Now, gentlemen of the South, you cannot prevent these things—this feeling, or sentiment, or whatever else you may call it—even
among the people of your own slaveholding
States, can you? Are you not asking too much,
then, when you require us of the North and
West to suppress it among our people? We
could not do so if we would. And if we had the power, our refusal to exercise it would by no means tend to justify the destruction of this Re-Again: It is made an accusation against the free

States, that their ministers of the Gospel make slavery a subject of pulpit disquisition, thus in-creasing the hostility already existing against that institution. To some extent this may be the fact, Mr. Chairman; though I confess that, so far as my own knowledge extends, such instances are exceedingly rare. But what then? Can we prevent that? Ought we to try? Why, on this vent that? Ought we to try? Why, on this point we have the authority of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Brows] himself, in favor of the practice. You will recollect, sir, that after treating us to an argument of considerable length, ical, and religious blessing—a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the master "—he drops the subject by saying: "It is no part of my purpose to discuss this proposition. The subject, in this view of it, belongs rather to the pulpitation to the halls of legislation." Surely, sir, he will now complain no more of sermons on the subject of slavery; and, when he comes to draft the "declaration" for the "Southern Confederacy"—(i strust that has not already been done)—he will certainly not include this as one of the "causes which imped us to the separation."

which impel us to the separation."
But again: It is charged also against the free States, that we tolerate anti-slavery societies. Yes, sir: we tolerate anti-slavery societies, natve American societies, temperance societies, moral reform societies, missionary societies, sewing societies, and possibly—though I am not certain—other societies. Indeed, sir, we are tolerant towards all sorts of societies. We are so, because, first, we have no right to be intolerant in societies. reference to such matters, and, secondly, because there is no necessity for meddling with them. the 100,000 men already there, or on their way thither, from whom California is to be taken by We must hunt for other causes than this, sir, to justify a dissolution of this Union.

justify a dissolution of this Crion.

Another charge against us is, that we permit men to perambulate the country, lecturing on abolitionism—thus increasing the prejudice already existing against the institution of slavery. There are such men, no doubt. My mind recurs to one just now—one who, in that way, has probably exercised more influence in the North, than all the other anti-slavery lecturers put together. This man is Cassius M. Clay, a citizen of the slaveholding State of Kentucky. When our Southern friends will agree to seal his mouth on that ibject, or confine his efforts to abolish slavery to the Southern States where he belongs, it will be ime enough for us of the North to set about devising some mode of confining itinerant lecturers, or prescribing subjects for the exercise of their eloquence. I might mention other lecturers of the same sort, for whom the North is indebted to the slave States. But it is unnecessary. It is also made a matter of accusation against

the free States, that anti-slavery presses are kept

tablish a "Southern Confederacy," which shall embrace just exactly the fifteen slaveholding States and no more. We cannot deny, Mr. Chairman, that such papers do circulate quite extensively in some portions of the free States, and some of them, probably, may be found even south of Mason and Dixon's line. I have a paper of that character on my desk now. Here it is, sir. [Holding it up.] It is a fair-looking paper, Mr. Chairman; and I observe that its articles are written with great power. But, I assure you, sir, it is the Union? I appeal to them also to say, whether tensively in the North, too; the number not being less, I am told, than fourteen thousand weekly: besides some thousands which find their way into the slaveholding States. Now, I can imagine that Would anti-slavery societies go down; would you suppose this paper to be published in Vermont. You are mistaken, sir. It is not published there, nor in Massachusetts, nor even north of Masson and Dixon's line. It is published on stave territory, sir; right here in sight of this Capitol, and almost within sound of my voice. Right here, sir, upon the very spot from which the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Classman] is not going to be driven, because it is his "stave terri-turu." Yes, gentlemen of the South, from your own midst; from the very doors of your houses, surrounded by your slave population, do you send forth anti-slavery papers, in number more than fourteen thousand per week, to deluge the North, and manufacture public sentiment there. Then you make the circulation of these papers, and the prevalence of a sentiment which they cannot but engender, a pretext for overthrowing this Government. Silence your own abolition presses; keep for your own use the fourteen thousand abolition papers which you weekly distribute among the people of the North, and then claim, if you will, that the existence of abolition presses in the free

States is justification to you for dissolving the I remember, also, that there was another antislavery press in vigorous and very effective operation for some time in Kentucky-Mr BROWN. We destroyed it.

Mr. BISSELL. So you did, by violence. But, by your own laws, and the decisions of your own courts, you were punished for it. You were com-pelled to make compensation in damages for your lawless act. Now, I ask our Southern friends, in all good feeling, if they can justly urge as a reason for dissolving the Union, annoyances conse quent upon a state of things in the free States which they cannot prevent at their own doors? We are met by the gentleman from North Car

the North responsible. He suggests that the increasing anti-slavery sentiment in the North will prevent the President from appointing slaveholders to office. For the present, let a single fact allay the gentleman's fears. The Presidency has been given to the slaveholding States during forty-eight of the last sixty years. And this, too, though the white population of the slaveholding States has rarely, if at any time, exceeded one half that of the free States. Of the foreign mis sions of all grades, more than a majority have been given to the South. Of the Cabinet appointments, given to he south. Of the Cabnet appointments, very nearly, if not quite half, have been given to the South. Of the officers in the army and navy, it will be found that, considering the relative population of the free and slaveholding States at east three out of five have been given to the South. How is it at this very moment, sir, while these very complaints of outrage, insults, tyranny, and loss of office, are being made? Why, sir, the President—a majority of the Cabinet—a majority of our foreign ministers—a majority of the members of the Supreme Court, and the presiding officer and clerk of this House—are Southern men and slaveholders. Poss not this action the might, the man from North Carolina? Surely he might, on this subject, rest quite easy. Another diffi-culty gravely set forth in that gentleman's speech, I ought, perhaps, to notice with becoming seriousness. I allude to the refusal of the New England spinster to take the Southern gentleman's arm That was wrong, unquestionably. But then these Yankee girls are very independent, and wil do just as they please—as some of us have learned from very painful personal experience. But I do

aiding fugitive slaves to make their escape. That we have vicious people as well as deluded people among us, we do not deny; and that they have good neighborhood among the people and the States of this Union, which every true-hearted American desires to cultivate. They are acts American desires to cultivate. against the commission and for the punishment of which the General Government ought to provide. I hope such provision will be made before the close of this session. It need not be expected, however, that any human laws, however rigidly enforced, will wholly remedy this evil. are bad men in all communities—in the North as well as the South—and one unprincipled man, by enticing away or aiding the escape of a slave, may bring reproaches upon a whole State. I am confident, however, that the number of such men in adverse to slavery. This statement, or charge, if adverse to slavery. This statement, or charge, if it be one I cannot deny. But I am at a loss to conceive how that can be regarded as an "aggresgentlemen from the South. They should remember that it takes but very few men to occasion all the annoyance they have suffered in this respect. They should remember, too, that these things are done secretly, and are by no means countenanced

by the mass of the people. For my own part, I am ready to go any reasonable length to secure such legislation as will henceforth prevent, as far as possible, this grievance. I desire to see a law en-

you, as far as practicable, your rights in this respect. The slaves are your own property; recognised as such by that Constitution, every line and every intendment of which I hold sacred. But let me ask gentlemen if they have not negro-steal-ers in their own States—if they have not every variety of unprincipled characters among them? Neither they nor we can free our respective States from such men; and they should consider wheth-er, if things were reversed—they occupying our position, and we theirs—they would be likely to keep themselves freer from just reproach than we

have been. I am not so undmindful of truth as to deny that, in respect to the subject now under consideration, some of our Southern friends have good cause to complain. But it must have been remarked by all of us, that the Representatives from those States which have really been aggrieved in this respect are not those who have threatened us with disunion. These threats have come from the Representatives of States from which, I venture to say, on an average, not one slave escap s in five years. Who ever heard of a slave escaping from Mississippi or Alabama? Where does he go to? Who helps him away? Certainly not the people of the North. Kentucky, Virginia. Maryland, and Missouri, the only States that are

really sufferers by the escape of slaves, do not seem to have dreamed of dissolution as a remedy; while the Representatives from a few of the extreme Southern States, whence slaves could no more escape than from the island of Cuba, see ample cause and imperious necessity for dissolving the Union and establishing a "Southern Confederdesigned to show that the moral and religious condition of the negro is improved by his being held in bondage—and after declaring that, in his opinion, slavery is "a great moral, social, political, and religious blessing—a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the master "—he drove the slave, and a blessing to the master "—he drove the slave, and a blessing to the master "—he drove the distely under consideration in this Committee distely under consideration in this Committee. distely under consideration in this Committee-the California question. The proceeding which has resulted in bringing California to the door of the Union is characterized by the honorable genthe Union is characterized by the honorable gen-theman from Mississippi, "as unwise, unpatriotic, sectional in its tendencies, insuling to the South, and in the last degree despicable." "It is," says that gentleman, "in derogation of the Con-stitution of the United States, and intended to

rob the Southern States of their just and rightful

It is also objected that these proceedings are likely to introduce into the other House of Con-gress two "Free Soil Senators," which will destroy the equilibrium now existing there between the North and the South, by giving to the free States the majority. Well now, sir, what are the proceedings complained of, and for which the Union s to be dissolved, and the North held responsible? The President, himself a Southern man and a slaveholder, with a Cabinet the majority of whom are Southern men and slaveholders, send Thomas Butler King, a Southern man and a slaveholder, to "aid and comfort," encourage and advise, the gold diggers in their efforts to join the sisterhood of States. Mr. King returns, bringing as trophies two Southern men—one a Mississippian and theother a South Carolinian, (and both slaveholders, I believe) - whom our Southern President desires to introduce into the Senate of the United States as members of that body. And, thereupon, our Southern friends declare that if this infamonomentate of "Northern aggression" is carried out, the Union shall be dissolved and the North held responsible! But what, I pray, has the North had to do with all this? Where can you discover the slightest traces of a Northern man's finger in the whole matter? Nay, sir, who are they in Congress who are understood to have distinctly declared themselves in favor of the admis-sion of California, since the reception of the message on that subject? Who but Clay, Houston, Benton, of the Senate, and Bay, of this House-all slaveholders?

And this California proceeding fills the measure of Northern "aggression," and makes it imperaeven into the Southern; and this is one of the principal causes which render it necessary to establish a "Southern Confederacy" which test that this matter is expected never to be understood by the people of the South? Surely their Representatives do not intend to deceive them-they could not hope to do so on a subject so plain and

> Now, sir, having disposed of the charges of "Northern aggression," of which we have heard so much since the meeting of Congress, I appeal to gentlemen to say whether there is anything them taken separately or in the aggregate, which in the slightest degree justifies their threats against lishment of a "Southern Confederacy" would theme of "Southern chivalry?" anti-slavery presses cease their issues; would ecturers give up their occupations; would Mrs. Partington withhold her sage opinions on the mo-rality of clavery; and would claves succeed no more from the Northern slaveholding States? No. gentlemen, every real grievance that now exists would then be aggravated in a tenfold degree. I am at a loss to conceive how on this point there can be any diversity of opinion.

Seeing, then, that all these complaints are either wholly groundless, or exceedingly trivial, when considered in the light of causes justifying a dis-solution of the Union, I am constrained to believe, and I so declare as the firm conviction of my own mind, that if this slavery question were settled to-day, upon terms entirely unobjectionable to the South, the scheme of dismembering the Union your would still be prosecuted as now.

Sir, I feel no little remorse for the wrong I did to an eminent citizen last summer. The distinguished Senator from Missouri, Colonel Benton, distinctly and boldly declared to the people of that State, that there was a small but active party in the extreme South—at the head of which was an eminent statesman, alike distinguished for his great genius and his reckless ambition-who were seeking a dismemberment of the Union, in order to the establishment of a separate. Southern Confederacy. For that I denounced Colonel Benton in my State, and to my constituents. May God forgive me for the wrong I did him. I was wrong-he was right. Yes, sir; with that party, small, but active and influential, this slavery agitation is but a mode of effecting the destruction of this Union. It furnishes a conveni-ent pretext and a powerful lever. But, be assured sir, had they not in the slavery question a plausible pretext for carrying forward their dewhere-or invent one. The people, however, alike patriotic and vigilant, will defeat their designs and in due time they will visit with just retribu-tion those who have sought to mislead them.

But do these gentlemen see no difficulties in the But do these gentlemen see no difficulties in the way? I know that, so far as the free States are concerned, they have only to fear "a little gasconade and a few threats"—for they have told us so. But is there nothing to be apprehended from the patriotism and firmness of the people of the slave States themselves? How about all those who may choose to hesitate in the States of Maryland, Delease the states of Maryland, Delease the states of Maryland Delease aware, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Texas, and Tennessee? They are to be hanged—hanged at once, as we learn from the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. CLINGMAN.]

Now, sir, when the gentleman proceeds to that operation in Kentucky, the hemp-growers of that State will have no occasion to desire a contract for furnishing the Navy with hemp-for they will not be able to supply the demand for home con-sumption. Truly, that day on which all the peo-ple of the slave States who are opposed to dis-union shall be hanged in the air, and among them CLAY, UNDERWOOD, BENTON, HOUSTON, BADGER, and others of equal distinction—that day, sir, will be one to be remembered: Gentlemen :elf us again and again, that they are not appalled at all this—that nothing need be expected from the fears of "Southrons." And the gentleman from North Carolina, especially, seems exceedingly anxious to impress us with a proper appreciation of the prowess of himself and his friends. This is all unnecessary. We have never impugned their bravery, and never doubted it. We do not doubt it now. They unquestionably possess that their constant disparagement of the personal courage of the people of the free States can certainly not be expected to heighten our opinion of their own. We may come to think, bye and bye, that they have fallen into two errors—the one, the error of underrating the courage of oth-

ers; and the other I need not particularize. The gentleman from North Carolina, speaking for himself and his friends, says. "I tell gentle-men that this is our slaveholding territory. We do not intend to leave it. If they think they can remove us, it is a proper case for trial;" and he delights in the prespect that such a contest would not leave a quorum of live members on this floor. The gentleman must excuse us for declining the invitation to so delightful an entertainment. defend with great resolution this "slaveholding territory." I wish this particular spot of "slaveholding territory" had been always thus defended. I think the Capitol stands now where it did in 1814-does it not, Mr. Chairman? Yes, sir; in

the same place. August of that year, the British, after spending something like a mon'h on the waters of the Chesapeake, quietly landed a handful (4,500) of sailors and soldiers—enervated by the effects of a sailors and soldiers—enervated by the effects of a long sea voyage—some forty miles from this place? And do you not remember that, dragging by hand three pieces of artillery, two of them three-pounders, they made their way over this very "slaveholding territory" to this very Capitol; and having destroyed our library and public archives, and reduced the Capitol to a heap of smouldering ruins, spending nine days the while on this "slaveholding territory," leisurely reembarked for other scenes of operation? Now, I

or other I could never help but think that on that occasion they were—rather bashful.

The gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. Brown,] who thinks that the resistance of the free States to the overthrow of our Government would be confined to "a little gasconade and a few threats," is nevertheless kind and considerate enough to give us some advice to be acted upon in the event of our not choosing to confine our resistance to a of our not choosing to confine our resistance to a dissolution of the Union within so small a com-Hearken, Mr. Chairman, to this voice of

When you leave your homes in New England, or in the great West, on this mission of love—this crusade against the South; when you come to take slavery to your bosoms, and to subdus eight millions of Southern people. I warm you to make all things ready. Kies your wives, bid your children a long farewell, make peace with yo r God; for I warm you that you may never return."

The profound amedian with which this sage ad.

The profound emotion with which this sage admonition was received by the bachelors in this part of the Hall must have satisfied the gentlepart of the Hall must have satisfied the gentle-man, I think, that due heed will be given it. He also admonishes us more than twice, or thrice, of the enormous population now comprised within the slaveholding States. He sets it down at eight millions of freemen. Now, the last census, if I am not mistaken, shows the number to have been four millions and six or seven hundred thousand, and not mistaken, shows the number to have been four millions and six or seven hundred thousand; and by none of the ordinary modes of calculation can that number now exceed six millions. If the increase has really been so great as the gentleman would have us believe it may be set down as a circumstance, the like of which has never been known in any age or country; and the gentleman may justly claim that his constituents are as eminently distinguished for another quality as for prowess. But this is a small matter, sir; and I merely refer to it as an illustration of the proneness of our Southern friends to exaggerate all their capabilities.

ness of our Southern friends to exaggerate and their capabilities.

This prononces, however, is not always harmless; and I must now refer to a subject which I would gladly have avoided. I allude to the claim put forth for a Southern regiment, by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Sapnon,] of having met and repulsed the enemy on the field of Buena Vista, at that most critical moment when the second and in the second seco ond Indiana regiment, through an unfortunate order of their Colonel, gave way. Justice to the living, as well as to those who fell on that occasion, demand of me a prompt correction of this most erroneous statement. And I affirm distinctly, sir, and such is the fact, that at the time the second indiana regiment gave way, the Mississippi regi-ment, for whom this claim is thus gratuitously set up, was not within a mile and a half of the scene of action; nor had it as yet fired a gun, or drawn a trigger. I offirm further, sir, that the troops which at that time met and resisted the enemy, and thus, to use the gentleman's own language, "snatched victory from the jaws of defeat," were the second Kentucky, the second Illinois, and a portion of the first Illinois regiments. It gives me no pleasure, sir, to be compelled to allude to this subject, nor can I perceive the necessity or propriety resits introduction into this debate. It have ing been introduced, however, I could not sit in silence and witness the infliction of such cruel injusting men. living and dead, whose well-earned fame I were a monster not to protect. The true and brave hearts of too many of them, alas, have already mingled with the soil of a foreign country; but their claims upon the justice of their country men can never cease, nor can my obliga-tions to them be ever forgotten or disregarded. No, sir. The voice of Hardin—that voice which has so often been heard in this hall as mine now is, though far more eloquently—the voice of Hardin, aye, and of McKee, and the accomplished Clay—each wrapped now in his bloody shroud—their voices would reproach me from the grave, had I failed in this act of justice to them and the others

who fought and fell by my side.
You will suspect me, Mr. Chairman, of having warm feelings on this subject. So I have; and I have given them utterance, as a matter of duty. In all this, however, I by no means detract-from the gallant conduct and bearing of the Mississippi regiment. At other times and places, on that bloody field, they did all that their warmest admirers could have desired. But let me ask again, why was this subject introduced into this debate? Why does the gentleman say "the troops of the North" gave way, when he means only a single regiment? Why is all this, but for the purpose of disparaging the North for the benefit of the South? Why, but for the purpose of furnishing materials for that ceaseless, never-ending, eternal

during the days of the Revolution, or at any sub-sequent period; and they will not suffer that at-tachment to be destroyed by disunionists or de-signing men in the North or in the South. We signing men in the North or in the South. We have our disunionists in the North, sir, and they annoy us not a little. Were your troublesome men in the North, they would be the Garrisons, the Tappans, and the Gerrit Smiths; and were our Garrisons, and Tappans, and Gerrit Smiths, in the South, they would be the disunionists against whom the moderate men of all parties would have to guard. I tell you, sir, that we, the serve your constitutional rights, as we have ever done. We are not alienated from you; nor have your ultra men yet driven us entirely "to the renoving it thither. This is not true. That wall." We are ready to meet you now on any fair grounds, and fight with you side by side for your rights and for ours, and defend those rights under the Constitution from encroachment in any quarter. But, sir, we want to hear no more about disunion. We are attached to the Union-aye, devotedly are we attached to it. We regard it as the ark of safety for the American People. We know that the realization of the hopes of human freedom throughout the world depends upon its perpetuity. And shall we ruthlessly crush these hopes forever? Shall that beacon light which our fathers raised to cheer and guide the friends let me say that the most thoroughgoing Free-Soil our fathers raised to cheer and guide the friends of freedom, be extinguished by us? Extinguish it if you will, but know that when you do it the those furnished us by North Carolina and Virtuose fur world is enshrouded in darkness more frightful

than Egyptian night. I know the people of my State. I know the peo-ple of the great West and Northwest; and I know their devotion to the American Union. And I feel warranted in saying in my place here, that when you talk to them of destroying this Union, there is not a man throughout that vast region who will not raise his hand and swear by the who will not raise his hand and swear by the Eternal God, as I do now, it shall never be done, if our arms can save it. Illinois proffered to the of which is its tendency to reduce to the level of the degraded slave the free labor of the poor the degraded slave the free labor of the Proviso is apof her rights in the war with Mexico. And should danger threaten the Union from any source, or in plied to these Mexican Territories, the Southern any quarter, in the North or in the South, she man as well as the Northern man may take his will be ready to furnish twice, thrice, yes, four times that number, to march where that danger may be, to return when it is passed, or return no

SPEECH OF HON. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL, OF OHIO.

On Southern Aggression, the Purposes of the Unio and the Comparative Effects of Slavery and Fre

Mr. CAMPBELL, having obtained the floor at the close of the remarks of Mr. VENABLE, of North Carolina, addressed the Committee as fol-

Before submitting my views upon this all-absorbing topic of Slavery, I desire to defend the section of the country which I in part have the honor to represent from unfounded charges, which are constantly preferred against it. We had scarcely taken the preliminary steps for an organ-ization of this House, before the South in tones of thundering eloquence denounced the people of the North as "aggressors," as " recreants to the Constitution," as having for years been guilty of "op pression" to their brethren of the South. In this Hall—in the social circle—upon the highway everywhere we met with this charge. Sir, I propose briefly to examine the state of this account of "aggression."

How does it stand, as to territorial acqui

since the formation of the Union. We of the North have been opposed to an extension of our domain. We have been taught by the warning voice of past Republics, that

"Extended empire, like expanded gold, Exchanges solid strength for fe-ble splender Southern policy has been different, and we have

In 1803, we annexed Louisiana. In 1819, we annexed the Territory of Florida. In 1845, we annexed the State of Texas. In 1848, we annexed by conquest California and

In 1849, we have a stronger movement for an nexing Cuba than we had ten years ago in favor of annexing Texas.

And now the honorable gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. CLINGMAN] notifies us that after the next Presidential election we will annex that part of Mexico on the Gulf, extending to Vera

The South does all this, and still persists in the cry of "aggression! aggression!" Sir, the North has yielded to this system too long, and now she is determined to stop it.

Mr. Chairman, the Constitution guaranties to every citizen the right of petition. Some of our Northern people believe that in Territories over which Congress had power to legislate, slavery barked for other scenes of operation? Now, I should be either immediately or prospectively

sacred right? A colleague of mine, now upon this floor, [Mr. Giddings,] was sent here to represent as intelligent and as patriotic a people as is to be found in the whole land. He presented, in the discharge of his official duty, a series of resolutions against slavery and the slave trade. They were obnoxious the South and with the nid of Northern slavery and the slave trade. They were obnoxious to the South, and with the nid of Northern doughfaces, who are fast finding their level, you expelled him from this Hall, and attempted to disgrace him. Yet, during this session, we find that before we perfect an organization, a proposition is boldly made to dissolve the Union, by members from Southern States, in the event that the people's representatives pass a particular law; yet nothing like congue is proposed by those lately so ing like censure is proposed by those lately so sensitive.

Who has been "oppressed" in dividing the honors and emoluments of office? The poor, down-trodden South? She has almost mo lized the important offices since the formation of the Government. Let those who wish to have official evidence of her wrongs in this regard, examine the Blue Book. Virginia suffers! There are still a few of the "first families" unprovided for, and it is an act of unparalleled aggression ! Why, sir, so craving is her thirst for these honors, that I see in one town (all the whites having been provided for, I suppose) they procure the appointment of a negro as Postmaster!

How much did we aggress in organizing this

House? And who gave the strongest evidence of a desire to organize by geographical tests? We always found, on this side of the House, Southern Whigs enough to hold the balance of power, who preferred the election of a Southern Democrot to a Northern Whig. On the other side, Southern Democrats enough, to elect a Southern Whig in preference to a Northern Democrat. And if, in the course of our efforts to organize, any candidate

of either party was suspected of having ever seen the city of Enffalo, his fate was scaled.

But, Mr. Chairman, I am consuming too much of the brief hour allotted to me in detailing this

eccount of aggression.

What has the North done to produce this loud What has the North done to produce this loud and continual clatter about "aggression?" Bear in mind, an act of aggression must be an act of wrong. So long as we act for the promotion of that which is morally right, we cannot aggress. Much complaint is made about negroes running off to the free States. I suppose they do sometimes stray away. But if you will keep property that will run off, is it our fault? We do not turn out to catch runaway negroes. There is a reason for that. The farmer, in that beautiful valley which I have the honor to represent in part, has no slave I have the honor to represent in part, has no slave to till his soil. His family depend upon the labor

of their own hands for support. He cannot, he will not, abandon his plough and his fields, mount his horse, when he hears that a negro has been on in the neighborhood, and follow in pursuit, a suspicion that he may be the slave of some member of Congress from Virginia. He has expired the Constitution, and finds nothing there amined the Constitution, and finds nothing there which makes this his duty. The village mechanic in Ohio, who drives the jack-plane, and earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, will not abandon his honest pursuits, when he sees a man pass in the street, with a skin somewhat darker than his own, and a budget on his back, follow him, knock him down, and tie him, because there is a possibility that a Mississippi planter may hold a mort-gage on his bones, flesh, and sinews! Our fair countrywomen, yielding to the tender sympathies which always adorn their sex, when inquired of by a disconsolate passer by of their own sex, who perhaps may carry in her arms an infant slightly tinged, may point out the nearest and best road to Canada. Is there anything wrong in this? Point

On this point let me remark, that whilst the great mass of all parties in my State disclaim all design to interfere with your "peculiar institution " in States where it constitutionally exists, they remember, and will never forget, that they, too, have an institution the operations of which are somewhat "peculiar," which they call Freedom! They have tasted its blessings, and they will throw no obstacles in the way of all who may strive to obtain them. If our Southern brethren, then, will have slaves, and these slaves will run off to Ohio, they must capture them themselves.

But we aggress on the South because our politi-South? Why, out for the purpose of furnishing materials for that ceaseless, never-ending, eternal theme of "Southern chivalry?"

Mr. Chairman, the people of the free States have as strong an attachment for their brethren institution which produce this result. It is certification against the slave trade."

A Voice. "Inat is only a resolution against the slave trade."

Mr. CAMPBELL. True; such is the fact. But why did they resolve on this? To prevent institution which produce this result. It is certification against the slave trade." tainly not wrong if we obey that injunction of Holy Writ, "Multiply and replenish the earth." This complaint comes with a poor grace, especially from the gentleman from North Carolina. [Mr. CLINGMAN] who has, as yet, withheld from his country his aid in removing this source of ine-

But we are charged with designing or threatening to aggress by the passage of the Proviso. lintend to vote for the admission of California as a State with this clause in her Constitution, and for a Territorial law for New Mexico embracing it We are told that it excludes the South from a fair share of the territory acquired by common blood of Ohio and the Northwestern Territory for sixty years. A large portion of her best citizens are from the South. The district which I immediately represent embraces a large body of the lands of the Virginia military district, to which Virginians and North Carolinians emigrate.! with their property. Some took slaves with them, to whom their families were attached, although they knew that the moment the foot of the slave touched that soil. action here to be governed on this subject by the States. Their warmth in favor of Free Soil may, I suppose, be attributed to that same principle of n action which makes the refor ard the most ardent in pressing onward the cause of temperance; or the converted sinner the caus property there; he may take his negroes if he

property or things, and are make persons only.

The honorable member from Mississippi [Mr. Brown] takes a bold position, if he is sincere, and I will not question it, notwithstanding his preposterous assertion. I read from his printed speech. Mr. C. here read from Mr. Brown's

o For myself, I regard slavery as a great moral social, political, and religious blessing — a blessing to the slave and a blessing to the master."

The honorable gentleman proceeds with arguments to prove that great blessings are conferred upon the African by making him a slave! Now, sir, if the gentleman can make this position good by sound argument, and if the honorable member from North Carolina [Mr. CLINGMAN] can make good his declaration that where slavery exists you and the greatest degree of divilization, refinement, wealth, comfort, and happiness, I pledge myself to abandon the Proviso, and oppose it here and elsewhere, with as much honest ardor as I now support it. If slavery is a blessing to the slave, how is it that the great, the good, and the wise, of every civilized land upon earth, have never learned the fact? This is a great age we live in, and it has been reserved for the keen per-ceptive faculties of the honorable member from Mississippi to make the grand discovery that the true way to make a negro happy is to put him in chains, and under the lash of the task-master! A discovery somewhat parallel to this in importance, was made by one of the gentle-man's political associates, but a few years ago, that the way to civilize the Mexican race was to knock out their brains!

if the position of the honorable gentleman is correct, will he tell us why our laws do not regard that man who steals the African infant from its mother's breast, and bears it to perpetual bondage—who forces from his native land the father, to rivet upon him the chains and fetters of slavery—as a philanthropist, and not as a felon? Why does he not introduce a bill, entitled "a bill to make Africa happy," providing for the repeal of all laws prohibiting the slave-trade, and giving to the philanthropists who will engage in it, 160 acres of land for each native African brought

I must examine the morals involved in this question of slavery. Having learned something of the high tone of moral character accorded, justly, no doubt, to my honorable friend from Alabama, [Mr. HILLIARD | I listened attentively to his elequent speech, expecting him to base his argument upon a different foundation. I will not say he "dodged," but I do think he evaded the question, for he was particular to state with emphasis, that he could not discuss the question in its moral bearings, because, he said, we had nothing to do here with public morals! From what little I have seen here, I am induced to believe that the conduct of many is made to con-form to this "platform." Sir, I profess no extra degree of morals myself, but I may be permitted to say, considering its source, this avowal shocked

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have not misunderstood the honorable gentleman, although I have not yet had the pleasure of reading his printed speech. To come directly to the point, the gentleman can now tell us whether he regards slavery as a moral evil or as a blessing.

Mr. HILLIARD. I do not regard it as a moral

evil in the States where it exists.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, then, Mr. Chairman, it will be my duty as well as my pleasure to prove that it is a moral curse. I shall do so by referring directly to the opinions of some men which, notwithstanding my high regard for the gentleman from Alabama, are entitled to far more weight than his.
Mr. HILLIARD. I will ask the gentleman

from Ohio a question. A imitting it to be morally wrong, what right have we to legislate upon the

Mr. CAMPBELL. Sir, I will answer the gentleman's question by putting one to every member of the Committee. Admitting it to be morally wrong, how do you make it politically right? You cannot by any principle of philosophy that I have ever heard of, make that which is absolutely morally wrong politically right by legislation. Why? What power, asks the gentleman, in a tone of ap-parent triumph, have we, as the representatives of the people, to legislate with a view to promote public morals? Is it possible that such a question is seriously propounded, and must be seriously answered? What power? What right? A power which is the foundation of all civilized government. The first great object of all law, of all legislation, is to enforce that which is morally right, and prevent that which is morally wrong. this to accomplish this grand purpose that Governments are instituted among men.

But, Mr. Chairman, let us proceed with an examination of facts bearing upon the moral, social,

and political effects of Slavery, and show how far Southern gentlemen, in the frenzy of their excitement, have suffered themselves to depart from the principles and feelings of their revolutionary ancestors. And, sir, in this connection, I lay down what may be regarded by some as a bold proposition. I assert, that one of the very designs of the founders of this Republic, when they rebelled against the power of Great Britain, and formed a union of the Provinces, was to prevent the extension of Slavery; to do that which you denounce us as mad fanatics for proposing, and for which, when accomplished in part only, according to their designs, you say you intend to destroy the great work of their hands—this glorious Confederacy of States—this happy Union—which secures liberty to millions,

and his commanded the admiration of the world.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. CLINGMAN] housts that the ball of the Revolution was started at Mecklenburg, where a resolution was passed in 1774. I have looked into the history of those days. There were tony patriotic meetings in the South then. The gentleman will permit me to show the reasons which led to the rebellion.

Let us carry our imagination back to Virginia the Old Dominion, as she was in 1774. I hold in my hand the 1st vol. 4th Series of American Archives, published by order of Congress. It contains an account of various public meetings held preparatory to the then approaching conflict of those weak Colonies with the giant nation of the earth. The patriots of Virginia proposed State Convention at Williamsburg. County meetings of the people were held to appoint delegates, and declare their principles and determinations.

Mr. C. here read as follows, from page 523:

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Culpepper, in Virginia, assembled at the Court-House of the faid county, on Thursday, the 7th of July, 1774, to consider the most effective method to pre-serve the rights and liberties of America.

HENDLY PENDLETON, Esq., Moderator.

"Resolved, That the importing slares and convict servants is injurious to this colony, as it obstructs the population of it with freemen and we full manufacturers; and thetree will not buy any such slave or convict servant hereafter to be imported." This meeting appointed "deputies" to the con-

A VOICE. "That is only a resolution against may extend slavery. One, by extending it over new countries, opening new markets—increasing the damaged and some quently the value—thus in-ducing an increased production. The other, by importations. The spirit of the resolution shows that a prohibition of its extension was the design. But if gentlemen will be patient, I will not only show that they opposed its extension, but, even in the South, sought the Union for the purpose of abolishing it where it existed.

Similar resolutions were passed by primary meetings of the people throughout Virginia and

other Southern provinces, now States. By Prince George's county

The State Convention assembled at Williams burg on the 1st of August, 1774. They adopted 24. Resolved "We will neither ourselves import nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place."—Page 687.

This Convention recommended a Congress to

meet at Philadelphia on the first Monday of September, 1774. Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of liberty, could not attend the Convention, but he sent to it a letter expressing his opin-ions and wishes. I read an extract from page

How do gentlemen relish Mr. Jefferson's views upon the moral and political questions now raised on this floor?

North Carolina held her Provincial Convention not at Mecklenburg, but at Newbern. The honorable gentleman from that State on the other side of the House, [Mr. Ashe.] the other day exof the House, [Mr. Ashe.] the other day expressed to my colleague [Mr. Root] a desire to know who from North Carolina had been opposed to extending slavery. I have "the documents" here for his information. Nearly every county in this State was represented in this Convention. There were sixty-nine "deputies." It was convened on the 27th of August, 1774, and passed this resolution. On page 735 the gentleman will find the names of the deputies and the resolution:

"Resolved, That we will not import any slave or slaves, or purchase any slave or slaves imported or brought into the Province by others from any part of the world, after the first day of November next."

Mr. Chairman, I will not go further into details of the action of the Provinces separately. The deputies they appointed and instructed assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. Let us look upon that assemblage of our patriot fathers. It was in the dark hour of our political history. It was " the day that tried men's souls." Yet they resolved to redress the grievances indicted upon them by Great Britian, or perish nobly in the attempt. We are men of words—they were men of action. What was their design? To form men of action. What was their design? To form a Union. The Provinces must be united. I have here the bond of their Union—the first Union? It is called the "Articles of Association." It was the bond of our fathers with the Almighty, whose all-protecting arm they desired as the shield to save them in the unequal contest they were about to engage in; they pledge by their "virtue and Sir, I listened the other day to the honorable

Sir, I listened the other day to the honorable gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS] with the most profound satisfaction. The power of his eloquent appeal in favor of the purchase of Washington's Farewell Address, marred as it was by a repetition of the unjust charge of "Northern agreement," could not did not fail to awaken the ington's Farewell Address, marred as it was by a repetition of the unjust charge of "Northern aggression," could not, did not fail to awaken the tender sympathies and feelings of every heart not wholly lost to the impulses of patriotism. He spoke of the incalculable value of the autographs of our revolutionary forefathers. Sir, I call that honorable gentleman's attention to these autographs of the members of the First Continental Congress. [Here Mr. C. held up the Articles of Association, unanimously adopted by the Continental Congress, containing a fac-simile of the signatures appended to it.] Look at the bold hand of Washington, of Patrick Henry, and of Lee; of Hooper and Caswell; of Jay and Duane; of the Adamses; of Gadsden and the Rutledges; and of Stephen Hopkins. If the gentleman, prompted by those nobler feelings of his nature, would regard as priceless an old manuscript letter of a father to his son, containing advice upon his leaving the paternal roof to embark upon the stormy sea of this world, what should be his veneration for this document? How much should he, how much will he sacrifice to preserve inviolate this written pledge of our fathers to the God of battles that they would check this acknowleds. Association, unanimously adopted by the Continental Congress, containing a fac-simile of the signatures appended to it Look at the bold hand of Washington, of Patrick Henry, and of Lee; of Hooper and Caswell; of Jay and Duane; of the Adamses; of Gadsden and the Rutledges; and of Stephen Hopkins. If the gentleman, prompted by those nobler feelings of his nature, would regard as priceless an old manuscript letter of a father to his son, containing advice upon his leaving the paternal roof to embark upon the stormy see of this world, what should be his veneration for this document? How much should he, how much will he sacrifice to preserve inviolate this written pledge of our fathers to the God of battles that they would check this acknowledg-

Mr. HILLIARD. Will the gentleman from Ohio allow me to explain and correct him?

Mr. CAMPBELL. With great pleasure.

Mr. HILLIARD. I said that I would refrain from discussing the question as a moral one, because we hold no power to legislate on the morality of the question. To enter into a discussion here on that point might be deemed an admission of the jurisdiction of Congress over the subject.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have not misunderstood for liberty! If I could but command the eloquence results of their toil—the fruits of their struggles for liberty! If I could but command the eloquence of the gentleman from Georgia, I could appeal, perhaps successfully, to him, to his colleague, to his associates of the sunny South, to come back to these principles and purposes—to these holy designs of our common ancestors—to join with us, in the spirit of brotherly love and brotherly kindness, in an effort to redeem this solemn pledge entered into in the dreary hour of their misfor tune, by the founders of that Government which has secured to us all the blessings we can hope for in our earthly career.

Mr. Chairman, I will read the extracts from

these Articles of Association, which are applicable to the point : "We do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the severa

Colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country, as

2. "That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures, to those who are concerned in it."

11. "That a committee be chosen in every county city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for Representatives in the Legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the c-nduct of all persons touching this Association; and when it shall be made to appear, to "he satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this Association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazeite, to the end that all such roas to the rights of British America may be published in the gazeite, in the end that all such roas to the rights of British America may be published to the content of the respectively will break off all dealings with him or her."

14. "And we do further agree and resolve that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourse whatever, with any colony or province in North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this Association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of this country."

"The forecoing Association, being determined upon by the tongress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

embers thereof; and vocalingly.

spective names accordingly.

In Congress, Philade'phia, October 20, 1774.

PEYTON RANDOLPH,

President. New Hampshire—John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.
Massachusetts Ray—Thomas Cushing, Samvel Adams,
onn Adams, Robert Treat Paine.
Rhode Island—Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.
Connecticut—Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas
beane.

Deane.

New York-Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, James Duane, Philip Livingston, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, Simon Boerum.

New Jersey-James Kinsey, William Livingston, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith, John De Hart.

Pennsylvania-Joseph Gallaway, John Dickinson, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Millin, Edward Biddle, John Morton, George Rose.

George Ross.

The lower counties, Novemble, &c.—Carar Rodney,
Thomas McKean, George Read.

Marylamf—Matthew Trighman, Thomas Johnson, jr.,
William Pses, Samuel Chase.

Verginia—Richard Karag Low, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Jr., Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund

Randlades.

Pendleton North Carolina-William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, Richard South Carolina - Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, Edward Rutle 'ge. Mr. BOWDON. I would inquire of the gen-leman from Ohio whether he calls that the Con-

titution of the Union?
Mr. CAMPBELL. I will with pleasure inform the honorable gentleman from Alabama. It is not the last Constitution of the Union, but higher evidence to prove the point I make, which is, that the Provinces formed their first Union, among other things, to check the progress of slavery! The gentleman from Alabama, on the other side of the Hall. man from Alabama, on the other side of the Hall, [Mr. INGE,] the other day spoke of the Continental Congress, and of the Declaration of Independence, Congress, and of the Declaration of Independence, as a production from that august body of patriots, called for by the pressure of public opinion from without. So with this document, which is a declaration two years older than the Declaration of Independence itself. The outside pressure of public opinion on the subject of slavery, expressed at the various primary meetings of the people themselves, some of which I have referred to, required, as a preliminary step to the contemplated resistance, a solamn pledge that slavery should go no further; and it must be borne in mind that these fathers carried with them the same spirit and the fathers carried with them the same spirit and the

same design when they subsequently entered into more formal articles, passed the Ordinance of 1787, and formed our present Constitution. Congress, as you will observe. The reasons which prevented a representation I need not detail. Still the patriots of that province in that good old time, unlike her misguided but no doubt sincere Representatives on this floor, were determined not to be behind the other colonies in their efforts to secure to themselves, and to extend to those in slavery the

blessings of freedom.

Georgia proclaimed her sentiments on the 12th of January, 1775, after the adjournment of the Continental Congress, (page 1136)

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the extensive Disrict of Darien, in the colony of Georgia, having now assembled in Congress, by authority and free choice of the ababitants of said District, now freed from their fetters, do

inhabitants of said District, now freed from their fetters, do resolve:

"5. To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for ALL MANKIND, of whaterer climate, language, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the usuatural practice of slavery in America, (however the uncultivated state of our country, or other specious arguments may plead for it,) a practice founded in injustice and crustly, and highly dangerous to our liberties, (as well as lives,) debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest, and is laying the basis of that liberty we contend for, (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest nosterity,) upon a very wrong foundation. We, therefore Resolve, at all times to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves in this colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the master and themselves."

Such was the action-these were the sentiment upon this question of moral and political right, when the foundation of our great superstructure was laid, and which was subsequently cemented with the blood of our heroic ancestors.

Southern, not of Northern provinces. I would that we could but summon here those veterans to give us with a living voice their opinions just as the are here recorded. Would Washington be scoute from this Hall as a recreant to the best interests of his country? Would the Virginian denounce Jefferson as a traitor, because he said slavery was an execrable practice; or Patrick Henry as a "fa-

an execrable practice; or Patrick Henry as a "fanatic," because he avowed his devotion to the cause of human freedom, in that ever memorable burst of eloquence in the Virginia Convention, closing with "Give me liberty, or give me death!" Suppose this Hall was now occupied by the old Continental Congress—this question raised, and they unanimously declare slavery a moral and political evil—would the honorable gentlemen from Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Georgia, denounce them as recreants to their country? Oh! no. Why, then, do they disavow the principles they proclaimed? Does not the experience of the last half century prove that they truly foresaw the blighting effects of this evil of which they desired to rid themselves? The rapid increase of lesired to rid themselves? The rapid increase of the States, where slavery does not exist, in power and strength, and everything calculated to render life agreeable, establishes the wisdom of their de-

Some of the States who were parties to this ob-ligation have redeemed their pledges. We now ropose to carry out, as far as we can, their original purpose.
Mr. STANLY. To abolish slavery in the

Mr. CAMPBELL. We will not do that where under the Constitution it exists. We leave that matter for you to attend to as you like; but we, having power over the Territories, intend to fol-low these wholesome counsels from the founders of the Government, and exclude slavery from them forever by the power of public sentiment— by the power of the law—and, if necessary, in maintaining the majesty of the law, by the power of the sward!

Mr. BOWDON. Will the gentleman from Ohio show us the power in the Constitution to pass such a law?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have much to say yet in

the little time that is left me I have spoken by time before, and if I regarded the constitutional question as doubtful, I would not now go into it. If the honorable gentleman desires a discussion of that question with me, I will meet him on any stump, either in Alabama or Ohio, after Congre adjourns. It will save some money to discuss in that way. For the present, I cor tent mysel

SEE SECOND PAGE.